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ABSTRACT

This paper places the text of a Kashaya traditional narrative in cultural context and analyzes linguistic, poetic, and rhetorical features that contribute to its artistry. In part, this necessitates a reconstruction of the culture that gave rise to the narrative itself, in the tradition of much Native American anthropology, as both the language of the narrative and the gambling game it describes are no longer an active part of the Kashaya culture today. In the interim, the narrator of the gambling myth opened the door to linguists and anthropologists more than three decades ago to preserve as much traditional information as possible for future generations. Brief fragments of the narrator's formal and conversational speech are included as a narrow window onto the culture at that time to illustrate the prevailing conditions that facilitated preservation of the text. The gambling game depicts a traditional gambling game between coast creatures and forest creatures. Background information is provided on the game. The differences between the traditional context of telling coyote stories and the performance that is represented by the text are described. Finally, the poetic and rhetorical structure of the text in terms of grammatical and thematic parallelism, forms of reference, morphological marking, and other narrative devices are examined. Contains 39 references. (Author/JL)

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AN ETHNOPOETIC ANALYSIS OF A TRADITIONAL KASHAYA GAMBLING NARRATIVE

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Abstract: In this paper I examine the text of a traditional Kashaya narrative which depicts a gambling game between coast and forest creatures. I propose an analysis of the meaning and organization of the text in terms of its cultural context as well as its poetic and rhetorical structure.[1]

Over the last few decades, research in Native American verbal art has drawn on the disciplines of linguistics, anthropology, literature, and folklore to find a way to represent oral performances that grounds them in cultural context and preserves stylistic aspects of the original performance that are ignored or obscured by a block textual representation. Dell Hymes (1981, 1987) and Dennis Tedlock (1971, 1978) have made pioneering contributions to the field of ethnopoetics, and this focus of research continues for a variety of Native American languages in work by Bright (1984), McLendon (1981), Sherzer (1987, 1994), Woodbury (1987, 1992), and others.

Following this research, in this paper I place the text of a Kashaya traditional narrative in cultural context and analyze linguistic, poetic, and rhetorical features that contribute to its artistry. In part this necessitates a reconstruction of the culture which gave rise to the narrative itself, in the tradition of much Native American anthropology, as both the language of the narrative and the gambling game it describes are no longer an active part of the Kashaya culture today. In the interim, the narrator of the gambling myth opened the door to linguists and anthropologists more than three decades ago in an attempt to preserve as much traditional information as possible for future generations. Brief fragments of the narrator's formal and conversational speech are included as a narrow window onto the culture at that time to illustrate the prevailing conditions which facilitated the preservation of this text. The text depicts a traditional gambling game between coast creatures and forest creatures. I provide background on the gambling game in its heyday and the circumstances surrounding its fall from favor. I also describe differences between the traditional context of telling coyote stories and the performance that is represented by this text. Finally, I examine the poetic and rhetorical structure of the text in terms of grammatical and thematic parallelism, forms of reference, morphological marking, and other narrative devices.

The Text: Transcription and Representation

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The traditional narrative discussed in this paper was recorded by Robert Oswalt and appears in Kashaya Texts, a collection of myths (traditional narrative), personal and historical narrative, ceremonial speech, and conversations collected during Oswalt's fieldwork in the summers of the late 1950's and early 1960's. In the Boasian tradition, Oswalt has documented the Kashaya language with this compilation of texts and a detailed grammar (1961). However, no dictionary for Kashaya is available.

The text is included in its entirety in Appendix 1 in a tripartite interlinear text format: phonemic transcription, grammatical analysis, and English gloss. All line numbers in the body of the paper refer to this text. The phonemic transcription appears as it does in Kashaya Texts with a few notation exceptions: long vowels are represented with two consecutive vowels, <ʃ> is used to represent a palatal fricative, and I have added morphological segmentation which corresponds to the grammatical analysis I provide on the intermediate line. The prosodic information consists of primary stress marking and broad intonational contours. For the most part, the line divisions correspond to Oswalt's sentential units in the gloss and are consistent with the convergence of terminal contours and complete syntactic information. A guide to the transcription notation and phonemic inventory is provided in Appendix 2.

The italicized gloss is the translation that Oswalt provides in Kashaya Texts. I have provided the intermediate grammatical analysis as a link between the original text and the English gloss. The grammatical analysis is based on information gleaned from the resources available, primarily Oswalt's Kashaya grammar (1961) and a limited word list of nouns, adjectives, and adverbs, K'ahʃa:ya cahno kalikakʰ 'Kashaya Vocabulary' (1975). As noted above, however, no dictionary for Kashaya is available, so the analysis presented here is tentative. The additional text fragments used in this paper conform to the format described above.

The Language

Kashaya, also known as Southwestern Pomo, is one of seven Pomoan languages native to Northern California and classified as part of the larger Hokan language family. Incidental to this analysis of a traditional narrative about a gambling game, it is interesting to note that in the related language of Central Pomo the word kashaya means 'expert gamblers', from /ka/ 'gambling' and /ʃaa/ 'expert'. For the derivation of the native term, Oswalt proposes /kahʃa/ 'agile, nimble' and /ya/, translated as 'people, group, race' in both languages mentioned.

The Kashaya language is moribund, spoken only by a handful of elders. In Oswalt's (1964) assessment of the state of the language in the early sixties,

he writes that those who were at that time in their thirties and forties used English most of the time but could speak Kashaya fairly well, albeit with an appreciably smaller vocabulary than that of the older generations. In addition, most children under twenty actively used only occasional words and phrases of Kashaya.

The Narrator

The narrator of the gambling myth is Essie Parrish (E.P.), a Kashaya spiritual leader and sucking doctor. E. P. was born in 1902 and learned her stories from her maternal grandmother as well as from other relatives. E.P. was very active in the preservation of traditional knowledge for posterity. She worked with Oswalt as one of his main language consultants, and she also worked with anthropologists to prevent traditional information from being lost to future generations. The following excerpt from one of her speeches reflects her concern over the young people's disregard for the old ways. This speech was delivered on the eve of a July 4th dance in 1958, when she gathered the community together in the ceremonial roundhouse to decide whether or not anthropologist Samuel A. Barrett would be allowed to film the dance inside the roundhouse.

Kashaya Text #78:12-13

a. ʔé-n s'i-ba . ʔkʰe ʔacaʔ qahle yáchma kʰe cahno
be-SS.S/A do-SS.ANT 1sg.OBL person white people 1sg.OBL language

doʔk'oyaac'-a-m maya damíta-ʔ^
scatter.pl-NOM-S 2pl.S discard-ABS
'Like this [with a gesture] the white people are picking up the scattered bits of my language that you are discarding.'

b. maya damita-ʔ just like -
2pl.S discard-ABS
'You threw away just like.... '

c. maya miili scraps maya damitaac'-a-l men é-e maʔu
2pl.S here.V 2pl.S discard.pl-NOM-O thus be-NFV this.S

maʔcaa cohtow-a-m ^
roundhouse stand-NOM-S
'The roundhouse standing here is just like scraps that you throw away.'

d. maya-l younger generation yachma yaaco-l e-e ʔa cahnoo-d-a-m
3pl-O people AGNOM-O be-NFV 1sg.S talk-DUR-NOM-S
'You younger generation are the ones that I am talking to.'

Not surprisingly, the recording of ceremonial practices was highly controversial. The people decided against allowing the sacred dances to be filmed

at that time, but three years later they gave a special performance for Barrett to film outside the roundhouse. Oswalt notes that the text above and the two other ceremonial speeches given by E.P. included in Kashaya Texts were transcribed from E.P.'s own tape recording. In a later segment of the speech excerpted above, E.P. assures her audience that the tape recorder next to her is her own. The controversy over sharing information on sacred practices is further documented in Sarris' (1993) essay on Native American religious resistance. In this essay, Sarris reports that Cache Creek Pomo medicine woman Mabel McKay, whom he has known since childhood, claimed that E.P.'s death was related to her sharing of traditional healing ceremonies with outsiders in the ethnographic film The Sucking Doctor .[2]

The Gambling Game

Gambling games were an important part of social gatherings, trade, and ceremony in indigenous North American culture. The gambling game depicted in the narrative discussed in this paper is the hand game, a type of guessing game that was widely distributed throughout the tribal territories of North America. In his book on the games of native North America, Culin reports finding the hand game "among 81 tribes belonging to 28 different linguistic stocks" (1992:267). The game was often conducted when members of different tribes met. Of the native Californians, Kroeber (1976:848) writes, "A public ritual, a dance, even a mourning ceremony, could hardly take place without the accompaniment, at least at the conclusion, of the guessing game....It is hard for us to realize to the full the large degree to which this amusement or occupation entered into the life not so much of a professional class of gamblers as of all the California Indians."

Stewart Powers describes witnessing the grass game played by the Pomo in the 1870s. The grass game is a version of the hand game in which the bones are wound in wisps of grass in the opponents' view.

> While among the Gualala I had an excellent opportunity of witnessing the gambling game of wi and tep, and a description of the same, with slight variations, will answer for nearly all the tribes in Central and Southern California....They gamble with four cylinders of bone about two inches long, two of which are plain and two marked with rings and strings tied around the middle. The game is conducted by four old and experienced men, frequently gray-heads, two for each party, squatting on their knees on opposite sides of the fire. They have before them a quantity of fine dry grass, and, with their hands in rapid and juggling motion before and behind them, they roll up each piece of bone in a little bale, and the opposite party presently guess in which hand is the marked bone. Generally only one guesses at a time, which he does with the word tep (marked one), wi (plain one). If he guesses right for

> both the players, they simply toss the bones over to him and his partner, and nothing is scored on either side. If he guesses right for one and wrong for the other, the one for whom he guessed right is "out", but his partner rolls up the bones for another trial, and the guesser forfeits to them one of the twelve counters. If he guesses wrong for both, they still keep on, and he forfeits two counters....There are only twelve counters, and when they have been all won over to one side or the other the game is ended (1976:189-190).

Culin classifies the hand game as a game of chance (in contrast to games of dexterity, which include archery and ball games). In the introduction to Culin's volume on games of chance, Dennis Tedlock notes that this classification reflects the viewpoint of an observer, but "the participants constantly think in terms of strategy, pitting their wishes against chance in momentary acts of magic" (in Culin 1992:23). Kroeber's (1976) description of the act of guessing for the Yokuts reflects the strategic elements of the game:

> When there were two pairs of players confronting each other, a single finger signified a guess at the hand indicated and at the partner's opposite hand; two fingers, the same hand of both players. These complications look like arbitrary elaborations; but like most such Californian devices, they spring from an intensive development of the spirit of the game. A gesture begun with one finger can be finished with two if the instant suffices for recognition of a trace of satisfaction in the opponent's countenance as he realizes an impending false guess...It is a game in which not sticks and luck but the tensest of wills, the keenest perceptions, and the supplest of muscular responses are matched...There is possibly no game in the world that, played sitting, has, with equal intrinsic simplicity, such competitive capacities (1976:540).

In many cultures, success in the gambling game transcended luck or skill and was attributed to a player's access to magical power. Singing was an integral part of the hand game, and players often used songs to call upon magical forces for power, as Olmstead and Stewart (1978) report for the Achumawi:

> It [the hand game] was permeated by religio-mystic feeling, since winning involved, in their view, something more than pure chance. One's tinihowi [guardian spirit, medicine] might be particularly efficacious for assisting the gambler. Success displayed the winner's powerful life-force, which was not attainable without a good tinihowi ... During the game there was singing, which reached almost to the point of ecstasy (1978:234).

Gambling fell into disfavor among the Kashaya when it was banned along with drinking by Annie Jarvis, a Bole Maru Dreamer and Kashaya spiritual leader from 1912-1943. The Bole Maru was a revivalistic religion, an offshoot of the Ghost Dance movement of the 1870's. The Bole Maru Dreamers advocated the retention of traditional ways and beliefs, but at the same time integrated a Victorian ideology of cleanliness and abstinence into their doctrine (Bean and Theodoratus 1978; Bean and Vane 1978; Sarris 1993).

A fragment of conversation Oswalt recorded in the late 1950's illustrates the obsolescence of gambling by this time. E.P. and her daughter Violet are discussing an upcoming social event which is to include a demonstration of the grass game. Violet was in her late twenties at the time of this conversation (August, 1957), and, as Oswalt notes in the transcription, she slightly mispronounces the word for the grass game because she is unfamiliar with it.

Kashaya Text #76:36-40

E: ʔóo^ muu t̓a yaʔ-kʰe prógram ʔi-ʔkʰ̓e capa-s'íi met̓' idom ˜
Oh VG.S RSP 1pl-OBL be-FUT week-make time QUOT
'Oh, I've been told our program will be held on Saturday.'

V: baq'o cíc'-wac'-kʰe ʔwa˘
what do-DUR.pl-FUT Q
'What are they going to do?'

E: qacúhse hqamac'-kʰe ʔdom t̓a ˜
grass.game play.pl-FUT QUOT RSP
'I've heard they'll play the grass game.'

V: baq'o wá t̓a qʰacuhse ˜
what Q RSP ~grass.game
'What is the grass game?'
[Oswalt: Violet used /qʰacuhse/ instead of /qacuhse/ because she misheard the unfamiliar word]

E: mu t̓a qacúhse ˜ qama-ac'-ém neniʔ duwení qan
VG.S RSP grass.game play-DUR.pl-RSP INTR old.days INTS
'Well, let's see now, they used to play the grass game in the old days'

maya t̓'o ca-ʔ=tʰin ém mu-l ʔt'o qan ʔbakʰe yacʰma ˜
2pl.S CTR see-ABS=NEG RSP VG-O now INTS of people
'You people nowadays have never seen that.'

Coyote Stories

The traditional narratives, which Oswalt classifies as myths in Kashaya Texts, are called duwi díciidu 'coyote stories' by the Kashaya; literally, 'telling about Coyote.' The term duwi díciidu is not restricted to stories about Coyote, but includes all accounts of the time of creation, when the world was populated with animals who could speak and had other human attributes.

Little information has been recorded about traditional Pomo storytelling. E.P.'s initial commentary in the gambling myth reveals some differences between the traditional telling of this story and the performance recorded by Oswalt in the summer of 1958 that is represented by the text in this paper. Most of E.P.'s traditional narratives open with 'This is a story about...' or 'Now I am going to talk about... ,' diving into the introduction of the characters and setting the scene for the action. Her telling of the gambling myth is different in this respect because she makes initial remarks on customs associated with telling coyote stories (lines 1a - 1i) before she begins the story itself. With her introductory remarks, she grounds the story in its traditional context by describing how it was told to her as a child by ʔaca? t'ilekín iyowam duwi díc'iiduceedu 'one old man who used to tell coyote stories.' [3]

E.P. also mentions certain taboos connected with the telling of coyote stories. She remarks that the old man preferred to tell coyote stories in the winter (line 1b), a reference to the taboo against telling them at any other time. The taboo on telling coyote stories outside of the winter season was common. Wallace (1978a) notes that the Pomo and Yokuts believed that telling coyote stories in the summer could result in a rattlesnake bite (D. Hymes (1981) reports this belief for the Chinook as well). These tribes also maintained that telling 'serious' stories in the daytime would make the storyteller hunchbacked. Wallace adds that parents and grandparents could tell 'simple' stories to their children almost anytime (see also McLendon, 1977a and Gifford, 1980).

Another taboo that E.P. mentions in her introductory comments is that telling coyote stories while sitting up is forbidden (line 1f). She goes on to say that only one of the children (the favorite, probably E.P. herself) would recline along with the narrator as directed.

E.P.'s remarks on these coyote story taboos are most likely prompted because the circumstances of the recording violate them: it takes place at the wrong time of year and probably in the wrong posture as well. By contrast, such references to taboos do not appear in other coyote stories in the Kashaya Texts, although they were collected under similar circumstances. Further investigation is necessary to determine whether there was no mention of them or they were simply not recorded.

In Sarris' (1993) essay on the verbal art of Mabel McKay, he discusses Oswalt's collection of Kashaya narratives outside of the natural storytelling context. Sarris argues that the formal framing devices used by the narrators are "emergent" and evidence of the fieldworker's presence. Abrupt ending frames (mu ʔem mé?pʰi 'that is all') are characteristic of E.P.'s narratives in Kashaya Texts, appearing at the end of coyote stories, personal narratives, and descriptions of traditional food preparation alike. Sarris notes that in his almost thirty years of association with E.P., he never heard her use these curt endings outside of formal situations such as preaching. When he asked E.P.'s daughter Violet about the stories and their frames she replied, "Mom just did it that way, for the language. He [Oswalt] wanted language. I heard those stories different -- when Mom used to tell them when we kids were in bed" (1993:19).

Sarris proposes that the framing devices may have been helpful to the Kashaya narrators in dealing with the unusual circumstances of elicitation by circumscribing their interaction with the fieldworker.

> Any attempt on the part of fieldworkers to recreate the "native scene" risks the danger of denying the present, of displacing the significance of the fieldworkers' presence and how it affects the speakers' and ultimately the fieldworkers' re-creation of the text. In this instance with James [4] and Parrish, we might examine the rules and ethics of behavior that are still endemic to the Pomo, particularly as they might affect how a story is told. Mabel, for instance, mentions regularly that she cannot tell coyote stories during the summer months. "It is forbidden," she says. "It's an old-time rule. Us old people know that." Equally significant is the pervasive notion of privacy among the Pomo, particularly in terms of sacred objects, songs, and stories. A person's songs and stories are considered valuable property not to be shared openly with strangers. Sacred objects are never handled or touched except by their owners. Given just these strictures we might imagine why James and Parrish presented the stories the way they did to Oswalt, who did virtually all of his fieldwork in the summer months. James and Parrish, as elders and religious people, were in the position of being asked to break taboo and disregard an invasion of privacy. What resulted was a text that reflected, at least to some degree, that situation; the texts, as already suggested, are framed so that they are closed ("This is all"), thus inviting neither further storytelling nor inquiry into their world (1993:21-22).

The 'That is all' ending frame most likely does reflect the particular circumstances of the performance context, but Sarris' conclusion that it is a mechanism for shutting out the fieldworker is not a necessary one. The 'That

is all' ending frame has a more straightforward interpretation as a useful way of signaling the end of a performance to someone who may not pick up on more subtle framing cues. In the context of the elicitation, it is an effective means of informing the fieldworker that the tape recorder can be turned off. [5]

Symbolism

It was frequently members of different tribes who competed against each other in the hand game. This both rivalrous and friendly behavior was a common accompaniment to the Pomo trade-feast congeries (Bean and Theodoratus, 1978). The tribal identification which divided competing teams is depicted in the Kashaya gambling myth by the opposition between the coast creatures and the forest creatures. The coast-forest dualism is in turn strikingly reflective of the twofold nature of the coast-redwood Kashaya tribal territory.

The water-land dichotomy represented by the rival teams in the Kashaya gambling myth is suggestive of the totemic moieties described by Kroeber (1976) for the Miwok and other California tribes to the south, although the Pomo territory is not included in the totemic area of California. The Miwok moieties divide nature into a water half and a land half. Yokuts myths commonly pit animals from opposite moieties against one another in competitions (for the Yokuts, Kroeber notes that the moiety names are similar but oddly opposite: "upstream" corresponds to the Miwok water half, and "downstream" to the land half). Generally, the downstream animal wins. In the Kashaya gambling myth, the coast creatures win the game, contra the Yokuts predilection. Consistent with their mythical representations, the Southern Valley Yokuts often competed against members of the opposite moiety in games (Wallace, 1978b).

The symbolism of the opposition between the coast creatures and the forest creatures in the Kashaya gambling myth can also be characterized in terms of the relationship of these creatures to the food supply. The members of the coastal team are the abalone, the turban snail, the large and small chiton, the sea anemone, and the mussel. All of the coast creatures constitute seafood sources for the Kashaya. The importance of the coastal food sources is evident from passages in Kashaya Texts. The coast creatures are named in the creation myth when Coyote puts food into the ocean for people to eat (see Kashaya Text #1). Moreover, the Kashaya practice of preserving seafood in the coastal cliffs is credited with keeping people from starving in the winter months (Kashaya Text #70).

The members of the forest team are the crow, the Stellar jay, [6] the chipmunk, the skunk, and the bear. These are all creatures who compete with the Kashaya for food sources such as insects, grubs, acorns, seeds, and berries.[7] In the gambling myth competition of the coast creatures against the forest

creatures, it is the coast creatures who win, suggesting that the coastal food sources prevail over the various demands on the local food supply. Taken with the information above from Kashaya Text #70, this point is especially salient given that this myth was traditionally told only in winter.

Poetic and rhetorical structure

In this section I discuss the nature of poetic organization and the components of rhetorical structure in the Kashaya gambling text. In his examination of the Native American verbal art of the North Pacific Coast, D. Hymes (1981) reports a systematic covariation along the dimensions of form and meaning that structures narratives in terms of numerically constrained lines and verses as well as larger units of discourse. The type of measured verse organization described by Hymes is not readily apparent in the gambling text, but a formal structuring principle is clear. [8] The gambling text is organized in a series of parallel verses, one for each player, in a formal organizational trope which might be termed the poetics of the discourse. A number of narrative devices identify the verses as a distinct but parallel units of discourse. Each verse has uniform event structure, begins with sentence-initial particles, ends in a falling terminal contour, and establishes the player, the focal character of the verse, with specially-marked nominal reference. The recurrent verses establish an expected structure that is then manipulated by rhetorical devices to convey the drama and the point of the narrative.

My analysis will focus on the major portion of the text, the parallel verses depicting alternating turns of the gambling game, which reflect the poetic structure of the discourse. The overall pattern of each verse is uniform except for the identity of the player (and therefore the player's song). At the beginning of each verse, the current player is introduced with explicit reference: a nominal followed by the clitic /yac/ (realized as =ya?) which serves to identify the referent as the main character in the verse. Next, the player's song is introduced and sung. In some cases, E.P. states that she cannot remember the song, but offers a qualitative assessment (e.g. it was pretty, it was good). [9] Then there is often a description of the atmosphere of the game at that point, where the current team is described as laughing and yelling, thinking they are going to win. The verse ends when the opposing team guesses correctly so the turn of play switches to the other side.

The distribution of discourse markers reinforces the verse structure of the text. Hymes (1981) shows that verse division in Chinookan narrative is based on sentence-initial particles which are translatable in English as 'and', 'so', 'then', and the like. Each of the gambling verses in the Kashaya text also begins with sentence-initial particles, typically ma?u ?ul 'this now', or ma?u ?ul bet' 'this now next', and sometimes ma?u ?dom 'this it is said'. The

recapitulation clause mens'ili 'having done so' introduces the verses for Stellar jay and Skunk (verses 7 and 10, respectively). This use of recapitulation clauses will be discussed below.

Prosodic information also contributes to the verse organization of the gambling text. Oswalt's phonemic transcription of the text includes broad intonational contours, especially when they coincide with complete syntactic information. The intonational markings show that the end of each gambling verse coincides with a falling terminal contour occurring on the word which brings each verse to an end, hco? 'guess'. By contrast, the lines within verses are characterized by either level or rising terminal contours, contributing to the continuity within the discourse unit.

In the first line of each gambling verse the player is established with nominal reference plus the clitic /yac/. /yac/ often appears in connection with animal names in Kashaya coyote stories as an agency marker which anthropomorphizes the non-human noun to which it attaches (Hall, 1990). Its presence seems to enhance the prominence of the character it is associated with in a given discourse unit (in the case of the gambling text, the unit is the verse; in other texts, the unit can be larger).

Coincidentally, Virginia Hymes (1987) notes the use of -ya as a characteristic of Warm Springs Sahaptin narratives, although this language is not demonstrably related to the Pomoan languages. This special suffix occurs on animal names when they are myth characters:

> For example, xuxux is the ordinary word for raven, an ordinary raven you might see flying around. Xuxuxya is Raven, the myth character. This feature makes possible a very subtle narrative device, found in [the myth under discussion]. When Raven flies off, deserting her disobedient children, she flies as xuxux, having dropped her -ya suffix along with her maternal responsibilities (1987:79)

The use of /yac/ as a personifier in Kashaya myths appears to be more complex since it is not predictable when it will occur with an animal name and when it won't. Moreover, /yac/ not limited to the names of animal myth characters (cf. lines 1h, 12e, 13b, in which /yac/ functions as an agentive nominalizer). Hall (1990) provides a detailed discussion of the general uses of this clitic. However, the relationship of /yac/ to character prominence in Kashaya discourse has not been well-described and further research is necessary for adequate characterization. [11]

The predictability of the structure established by the recurrent parallel verses is reflected in variations of the forms of reference that occur throughout the text. Abalone is the first player in the game, and this verse (lines 4a-4f) serves to set the pattern for those that follow by using more explicit language. The third-person singular masculine possessive pronoun is used in the phrase muukin?kʰe q'o?o 'his song', in contrast to the use of a deictic form mu ?cay ?yaco?kʰe q'o?o 'that person's song' thereafter. In addition, Abalone's gambling song is introduced specifically as his ?ahqa q'ó?o 'game song', while in all other verses the player's gambling song is referred to simply as q'ó?o 'song' without the modifier ?ahqa 'game'. In the last line, an opposing player who guesses Abalone is referred to as we?ée tow=em?cay?ya? 'the one over on the other side', while in the following verses this reference is usually null (e.g. 5g, 6f, 7d, etc.; 12f is an extreme case of elliptical reference in which both arguments of the verb 'guess' are omitted). Thus the introductory game verse clearly establishes the important referents with explicit forms while subsequent verses use less explicit forms.

Switch-reference markers play a role in discourse organization. Switch-reference suffixes are a form of referential tracking in Kashaya. The verbal morphology in the switch-reference marked clause indicates whether its subject has the same or different reference as that of the linked clause. [12] In the gambling text, the SS (same subject) marker occurs frequently within verses, keeping the narrative focus on the current player and the player's team. For example, in Small Chiton's verse (11a - 11d), Small Chiton is established as the player in the expected fashion, by a nominal marked with /yac/ in the first line. In the next two lines E.P. comments that she cannot remember his song, but it was a good one, introducing new referential material into the discourse: herself in 11b, with the first-person singular subject pronoun ?a, and the song in 11c, marked as the subject with the definite subject marker: q'o?o q'o'?di =?em. The subject of 11d is Small Chiton again, but the SS marker is used, continuing the reference from 11a in spite of the intervening referential material. [13] This use of the SS switch-reference marker goes beyond the local level of clause-linking and makes sense in a broader discourse context as a means of enhancing the continuity of the main narrative events, effectively skipping over the metanarrative commentary. In addition, the pattern of events has been well-established by the recurrent parallel verses, so Small Chiton is the predictable agent of the verb qamáadu 'played' at this point in the action.

In contrast to the frequent use of the SS marker within verses, the DS (different subject) marker rarely appears. It might be expected in the last line of each verse to emphasize a shift in action when the other team guesses the current player. The DS marker serves this purpose in the first gambling verse

(4f). Subsequently, however, the last line of each verse generally lacks overt reference to the other team, while a pronominal form marked for objective case is used for the current player (e.g. 5g, 6f, 7d), suggestive of the passive voice in English: 'He was guessed.' This referential strategy retains the current player as the focal character within the verse.

The DS marker appears twice at the beginning of a verse (verses 7 and 12) in the form of the recapitulation clause mens'ili (<thus-do-DS.ANT) 'having done so'. Recapitulation clauses are a common narrative device in Kashaya for connecting a series of events. Their verse-initial use for the fourth and the eight players in the game is a subtle narrative strategy that underscores the alternating focus of action between the opposing teams.

The rhetorical structure of the text can be seen as a linear progression of interpretation that builds on top of the established poetic structure. Woodbury (personal communication) notes the ironic juxtaposition of the sequences of animal gamblers from each team which contributes to the rhetorical structure of this text. The coast creatures begin the game with their most splendid member (the abalone), and the large chiton precedes the small chiton, but it is the most humble one (the mussel) who wins in the end. In contrast, the forest creatures progress from the least formidable players (the birds; the uncolored one precedes the more colorful one), to the harmless chipmunk, to the skunk, a classic varmint, finally to the most dangerous, the bear. The moral then is that humility wins, a poignant lesson in the context of the extermination of California cultures.

The last verses of the text deviate from the established structure in order to emphasize the special characteristics of the player. Sea Anemone's verse (13a-13e) stands out because E.P. stresses that Sea Anemone has been traditionally represented as a woman in the telling of this myth. The third-person singular pronouns are marked for gender in Kashaya. [14] Reference to Sea Anemone in lines 13c and 13e occurs in the form of the third-person singular feminine pronoun, which emphasizes gender, rather than the more typical zero reference used for the main character of other verses. With respect to the hand game, one particular that varied across cultures was whether or not women played the game. In most cultures where gambling is recorded, some form of gambling is noted for women but in many cases the gambling games for men and women were different. If men and women took part in the same game, they often played on separate teams (Culin, 1992). Sea Anemone's verse in the gambling myth preserves the cultural information that Kashaya women also took part in the hand game, and that they played alongside the men.

Bear plays in the penultimate verse (14a - 14e), which breaks away from the expected verse structure with the added line 'That bear had been claiming that he was an expert gambler.' This extra line enhances the suspense of the

narrative by building up the expectation that the powerful bear will win. In the end, however, Bear is guessed, and Mussel goes on to win the game.

Based on the above discussion of poetic and rhetorical structure of the text and taking the available intonational contour markings into account, the textual representation of the gambling verses of the first two players (verses 4 and 5) could be reorganized as follows:

4. Verse: Abalone plays

ma?u ?ul du?k'áʃ ya? waa ʃokoolaw˘

mens'iba ?ul˗

qamaalaw˘

ma?ú ?dom˗

muukin? k^{h}e t'.o q'o?o ?ahqa q'ó?o ˗

?aq^{h}a yoo dúuk'aʃq'at.a

?aq^{h}a yoo dúukuykuma

nihcedú ?dom muukínk^{h}e t.'o q'o?o˘

ma?u ?ul mens'ilī˗

we?ée tow em ?cay? ya? ^

co ? ^

5. Episode: Crow plays

ma?u ?úl bet' q^{h}a?áaya? qamaalaw˘

mulidom ?ul bac'ow˘

ma?ú ?dom mu?cay ?yaco?k^{h}e t.'o q'o?o˘

?a too s'úwaa p^{h}imiiyalii

keyoo kéyoo maneewelaa

nihcedun qamáadu

ma?u ?ul˗

c^{h}uwáy? ba?t'an˘

bic'úlman˗

q'o?di t'ác'qaa mihyác' k^{h}e t'awíc'qac'in˗

mu l ídom ?ul mu?cay?yacol p^{h}ala hco ? ^

This preliminary analysis of the gambling text reveals some of the broader patterns of organization and narrative strategies employed in Kashaya discourse which reflect the cultural orientation and verbal artistry of the oral performance. Access to more complete prosodic information would allow for the examination of the rhetorical function of intonational phenomena and provide additional guidelines for the restructuring of the textual representation of oral narrative. The analysis of pitch, pause phrasing, speed of delivery, and other prosodic elements would undoubtedly contribute to a richer understanding of this narrative and Kashaya oral performance in general. Finally, I hope that this paper contributes to a deeper understanding and appreciation of the text and the culture which created it.

NOTES

1 I would like to thank Robert Oswalt, Joel Sherzer, Buck Van Winkle, and Anthony C. Woodbury for discussion and comments on previous versions of this paper. Any errors of fact or interpretation that remain are solely my responsibility.

2 The Pomo often associated death with the breaking of a taboo. See B. W. Aginsky (1976) for discussion of the socio-psychological significance of death among the Pomo.

3 Among the Pomo it is taboo to mention the names of the deceased. This results in references to individuals which can at times be rather elaborate. See also O'Connor (1990) for a discussion of circumlocutory reference in Northern Pomo conversation.

4 Herman James was Oswalt's other main language consultant.

5 This interpretation was first suggested to me by A. C. Woodbury.

6 This is probably Steller's Jay, but Oswalt identifies the bird as Stellar Jay.

7 McLendon (1977b) has characterized the animals who figure prominently in Eastern Pomo mythology as the larger mammal predators, birds of prey and scavengers who compete with the Eastern Pomo for nonvegetable food sources such as insects, grubs, fish, small mammals and deer. McLendon concludes that

"the Eastern Pomo liked to talk about animals who were predators like themselves, who found their food in the same places as the Eastern Pomo, with whom the Eastern Pomo had to share their food supply, and whom the Eastern Pomo sometimes used in order to identify the location of a food supply" (1977:167).

8 Four is the ritual number for the Pomo, representative of the four directions, or four winds, which is sometimes augmented to six (Kroeber, 1976). Some of the gambling songs seem to be phrased in fours, but the pattern is not striking or consistent. Numerically-constrained patterns of lines and verses figure more prominently in ritual speech, where groups of four consistently recur in ceremonial prayers and songs (see Kashaya Text #80 and #81).

9 E.P. does not give the songs for the Stellar Jay, the small chiton, the sea anemone (the female player), and the mussel (the winning player). In light of the issues discussed above dealing with taboo and privacy in connection with coyote stories and traditional information in general, it is possible that (some of) these players have a special significance within the culture or to E.P. personally which prohibits the disclosure of their gambling songs to outsiders or under the unusual circumstances of the recording.

10 /yac/ is omitted for Chipmunk in verse 10.

11 The =ya? marker has been reported with varying descriptions for other Pomoan languages. Oswalt (1978) notes that in several Pomo languages it is used to characterize a group or tribe, as in the word kashaya. Mithun (1990) identifies =ya as a topic marker in the related language of Central Pomo, although she does not elaborate on its use. O'Connor (1990) categorizes =ya? as an enclitic pronoun marking animacy as well as case in connection with demonstrative pronouns in Northern Pomo.

12 In Kashaya, the switch-reference suffixes encode temporal and logical information in addition to referential information.

13 Kashaya switch-reference markers are sensitive to agency rather than subjecthood (Oswalt 1983; Gamon 1990), so for this reason q'o?o q'o'?di =?em 'the song' would not trigger the use of a switch-reference marker.

14 Kroeber (1976:256) remarks that the gender-marking in Pomo is unusual for California languages and attempts to link it to a heightened gender awareness in the culture by claiming that the status of Pomo women is one of

"greater social equality" than is usual among northwestern tribes, citing evidence such as the suggestion of matrilineal descent, women chiefs, and membership of women in the secret society.

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APPENDIX 1

Kashaya Text #17: The Coast Creatures gamble against the Forest Creatures

(Told by Essie Parrish, June 1958)

Note that all of the gambling songs can be repeated indefinitely. The square brackets are Oswalt's annotations. The square brackets by the songs enclose the normal spoken Kashaya for the altered form in the song.

1. Introductory comments

a) ʔaca ʔ t'ilekín iyowa-m t̥a˜ duwi díc'-iid-uceed-u˜
man old former-S RSP coyote tell-DUR-DFN-ABS
'There was one old man who used to tell Coyote stories.'

b) muʔnatí ʔyowa-m mu˜ yuhu mé ʔ t̥'o díc'-iid-u daqa-ac'ed-ú =tʰin˜ me ʔ ˜
however former-S VG.S summer time CTR tell-DUR-ABS like-DUR.pl-ABS =NEG time
'However, he never did like to tell them in summer time'

qʰos'a ʔyowá-m˜ dic'-iiduwáad-u daqa-ac'ed-ú˜
winter former-S tell-HAB-ABS like-DUR.pl-ABS
'but rather he preferred to tell them in the winter.'

c) ya-l nat̥a=yya qʰadi-t-íi-c'ed-u dic'-iiduwa-ʔti˜
1pl-O child=pl call-PLACT-DUR-DFN.pl-ABS tell-DUR-INT
'He used to call us children in order to tell the stories;'

d) ʔahca qawi tii ʔíi=li mii yá-l qʰaʔdi-yii-c'ed-u ˜
house little RFL.sg.S be=at thereNV 1pl-O call-DUR.pl-DFN.pl-ABS
'(he) used to call us to the little house where he lived.'

e) men-s'i-wem ya mii pʰíma-yi-ʔ ʃo-ti ˜
thus-do-DS.S/A 1pl.S thereV go.pl-DUR.pl-ABS hear-INT
'When (he) did so, we went in to listen.'

f) muʔnatí ʔyowa-m mu ˜ kookó ʔce-ʔdo qalii cáa=too˜ duwi díc'-iid-u ˜
however former-S VG.S taboo say-QUOT up sit=from coyote tell-DUR-ABS
'But they say that it is dangerous to relate Coyote stories while sitting up.'

g) "bat̥ic'-kʰe ʔée maya t̥'íi˜" nihc-ed-un˜ tii t̥'o cahti=yoo mit̥-ic-iid-u ˜
recline.pl-FUT be 2pl.S all say-DUR-SS.S/A RFL.sg.S CTR sitting=from lie-SMF-DUR-ABS
'"You will all lie down," (he) would say to us, lying down himself.'

h) mens'in ku má ʔyul mit̥-ic-iid-u˜ wac-iid-u=ya ʔ ^
and one only lie-SMF-DUR-ABS main-DUR-ABS=AGNOM.S
'And only one, the main one, lay down [with him, i.e., his favorite].'

i) mens'in ʔul ˜ dic'-iiduwáadu-ceed-u˜ maʔu ʔa duwi díic'-iʔtiʔd-a-m mu =ʔem ˜
and then tell-HAB-DFN-ABS this 1sg.S coyote tell-INT-NOM-S VG.S =DEF.S

ʔahqá hqama-ʔ ^
game gamble-ABS
'Then he used to tell this Coyote story that I am about to tell ˜ about gambling.'

2. Introduction of players

a) qʰa+tów ʔbakʰe =ʔem = maacaʔ^ mens'in kulu bákʰe ʃiʔbaʃi˜=ʔem
water+side of=DEF.S=3pl.S -and wilderness of animals=DEF.S

mu qáma-c'-muʔ-tiʔc'-a-m ˜
VG.S gamble-SMF.pl-RCP-INT-NOM-S
'The coastal creatures and the forest creatures were the ones who were going to compete with each other.'

b) maʔu =ʔem ˜ duʔk'aʃ˜ maʔu =ʔem s'uqʰaa ˜
this =DEF.S abalone thisS=DEF.S turban.snail
'There was the abalone, there was the turban snail, '

maʔu =ʔem ʔimuu ˜ qat̓'ee ˜ sihmuʔ ^ mens'in noʔq'o ˜
this S=DEF.S large.chiton small.chiton sea.anemone and mussel
'there was the large chiton, the small chiton, the sea anemone, and the mussel. '

c) meʔ maʔu =ʔem kulu bákʰe ʃiʔbaʃi =ʔem mu ˜
and thisS =DEF.S wilderness of animals=DEF.S VG.S
'And the creatures from the forest were '

qʰaʔay˜ hee˜ ʃawala˜ mens'in˜ baʔs'imʔsi ˜ hee nupʰee ˜ mens'in but̓aqa ˜
crow and stellar.jay and chipmunk and skunk and bear
'the crow, and the Steller jay, and the chipmunk, and the skunk, and the bear. '

c) mu =ʔem maacaʔ^ qama-c'-muc'-kʰe yacʰma ˜
VgS =DEF.S 3pl.S gamble-SMF.pl-RCP -FUT people
'Those are the ones who were going to play together.'

3. The game begins

a) mu-l-ídom maʔu˜ kulu bákʰe ʃiʔbaʃi =ʔel maacaʔ^ ʔul cʰímita-ʔ ^
VG-O-QUOT this.S forest of animals=DEF.O 3pl.S then plan-ABS
'Now the forest creatures were making plans.'

b) "mii ya qʰat̓haa=wi pʰil-alaa-pʰi ya maaca-l beeli
thereNV 1pl.S beach=at go.pl-down-SS.F/C 1pl.S 3pl-O hereV

qʰád-alooqo-teʔ ʔahqá hqama-c'-muʔ-ti˜" nihc-ed-u˜
call-up.hither-PRFINT game gamble-SMF.pl-RCP-INT say-DUR-ABS

'"Let's go down to the beach and call (them) out so that we can compete here against each other, " said (one). '

c) men-s'i-ba ʔúl men s'i-w˜ qʰad-alooqo-ʔ^
thus-do-SS.ANT then thus do-ABS call-up.hither-ABS
'And then (they) did call (them) up. '

d) mu-l-ídom ʔul maʔu ˜ ʔahqá hqama-ʔ tubi-yi-ʔ^
VG-O-QUOT then thisS game gamble-ABS start-INC-ABS
'(They) started to gamble.'

4. Verse: Abalone plays

a) maʔu ʔul duʔk'áʃ=yaʔ waa ʃokoo-la-w˜
this.S then abalone=AG.S first kneel-down-ABS
'Now the abalone knelt down first. '

b) men-s'i-ba ʔul˜ qama-ala-w˜
thus-do-SS.ANT then play-INCH-ABS
'Having done so, (he) started to play. '

c) maʔú ʔdom˜ muukinʔ-kʰe t'.o q'oʔo ʔahqa q'óʔo ˜
thisS QUOT 3Sg-OBL CTR song game song
'This, they say, is his song--gambling song:'

d) ʔaqʰa yoo dúuk'aʃq'at.a [ʔaqʰa yoo dúuk'aʃ-q'ata]
water under abalone-shell
ʔaqʰa yoo dúukuykuma [ʔaqʰa yoo dukúy-dukuu-ma-w]
water under sob-FRQ-at-ABS
'Under the water, abalone shell
Under the water, sobbing.'

e) nihc-ed-ú ʔdom muukín-kʰe t.'o q'oʔo˜
say-DUR-ABS QUOT 3sg-OBL CTR song
'(he) sang for his song.'

f) maʔu ʔul men-s'i-li˜ we?ée tow=em=ʔcayʔ=yaʔ ^ co-ʔ ^
thisS then thus-do-DS.ANT far side=DEF.S=person=AG.S guess-ABS
'When (he) had done so, the one over on the other side guessed him correctly.'

5. Verse: Crow plays

a) maʔu ʔúl bet' qʰaʔáa=yaʔ qama-ala-w˜
thisS then next crow=AG.S play-INCH-ABS
'Now the crow started to play.'

b) mu-l-idom ʔul bac'o-w˜
VG-O-QUOT then sing-ABS
'(He) began to sing. '

c) ma$^{?}$ú $^{?}$dom mu=$^{?}$cay $^{?}$=yaco$^{?}$-k^{h}e t'o q'o$^{?}$o˜
thisS QUOT VG.S=person=AGNOM.OBL-OBL CTR song
'This is the song of that one:'

d) $^{?}$a too s'úwaa p^{h}imiiyalii [$^{?}$a to s'uwaa cadu-ma$^{?}$-li]
1sg.S 1sg.O shoulder look-over-DS.ANT
keyoo kéyoo maneewelaa [ke$^{?}$ye ké$^{?}$yee manewel-a]
bob bob-NFV dance-ABS
'When I look back over my shoulder
Bobbing, bobbing, I dance.'

e) nihc-ed-un qamá-ad-u
say-DUR-SS.S/A play-DUR-ABS
'(he) sang while playing. '

f) ma$^{?}$u $^{?}$ul˜ c^{h}uwáy? ba$^{?}$t'a-n˜ bic'úlma-n˜ q'o$^{?}$di t'ác'qa-a mihyác'-k^{h}e t'awíc'qac'-in˜
thisS then laugh sound-SS.S/A yell-SS.S/A good feel-NFV win.pl-FUT think.pl-SS.S/A
'They were all laughing and shouting, feeling good, thinking they were going to win.'

g) mu-l-ídom $^{?}$ul mu=$^{?}$cay $^{?}$=yacol p^{h}ala hco-$^{?}$ ^
VG-O-QUOT then VG.S=person=AGNOM.O also guess-ABS
'But [the opponents] guessed him correctly too.'

6. Verse: Turban Snail plays

a) ma$^{?}$u $^{?}$úl bet' s'uq^{h}aa=yá$^{?}$ qama-ala-w˜
thisS then next turban.snail=AG.S play-INCH-ABS
'Next it was the turban snail's turn to play '

b) me$^{?}$ mu=$^{?}$cay $^{?}$=yaco$^{?}$-k^{h}e t'o $^{?}$dom q'o$^{?}$o˜ q'o$^{?}$di=t^{h}in˜
but VG.S=person=AGNOM-OBL CTR QUOT song good=NEG
'but his song was not good;'

c) sóh mu t'o˜ q'o$^{?}$o ba$^{?}$t'á-w =$^{?}$t^{h}in˜
just VG.S CTR song sound-ABS =NEG
' it didn't even sound like a song'

d) series of smacks

e) nihc-ed-un qamá-ad-u˜
say-DUR-SS.S/A play-DUR-ABS
'(he) was making while playing. '

f) series of smacks

g) nihc-ed-un qamá-ad-u˜
say-DUR-SS.S/A play-DUR-ABS
'(he) was making while playing. '

f) mu-l-ídom ʔul mu-l pʰala hco-ʔ ^
VG-O-QUOT then VG-O also guess-ABS
'Then (they) guessed him too.'

7. Verse: Stellar Jay plays

a) men-s'ii-li we?ée tow =em =ʔcay ʔ=yaʔ ʔul maʔu ˜
thus-do-DS.ANT far side=DEF.S=person=AGNOM.S then thisS

qamá-alaa bet' ˜ s'awala=yáʔ qama-ala-w ˜
play-INCH-NFV next steller.jay=AG.S play-INCH-ABS
'The person on the other side started to play next- the Steller jay started to play. '

b) muʔnatí =ʔem to mu =ʔcay ʔ=yacoʔ-kʰe q'oʔo t¸'o duʔyáqa-ad-u =tʰin˜
however=DEF.S 1sg.O VG.S=person=AGNOM-OBL song CTR remember-DUR-ABS =NEG

q'oʔo c'íʃkan =em mu ˜
song pretty =DEF.S VG.S
'But I don't remember the song of that person˜it was a pretty song.'

c) mu-l ʔul men qama-ad-u maʔu ʔiqʰadic'qac-in˜ bic'ulma-n cʰuwayʔ baʔt'a-w ˜
VG-O then thus play-DUR-ABS thisS happy-SS.S/A yell-SS.S/A laugh sound-ABS
'Then (he) was playing, feeling happy, shouting, laughing. '

d) maʔu muuki-to pʰala ʔúl hco-ʔ^
thisS 3sg-O also then guess-ABS
'(They) guessed him too.'

8. Verse: Large Chiton plays

a) maʔu ʔul we?ée tow =em ʔul maʔu˜ ʔimuu =yáʔ qama-ala-w ˜
thisS then far side =DEF.S then thisS large.chiton=AG.S play-INCH-ABS
'And now on the other side, the large chiton began to play. '

b) maʔu =ʔém mu=ʔcay ʔ=yacoʔ-kʰée t¸'o q'oʔo ˜
thisS =DEF.S VG.S=person=AGNOM-OBL CTR song
'This is that one's song:'

c) ʔimu té woloolo [ʔimuu hiy=emʔ=yaʔ]
large.chiton=DEF.S=AG.S
qat¸'e cíi-yata-ʔ [qat¸'e ciyataʔ]
small.chiton crawl-DUR.pl-ABS
'The large chiton is the lord
Of the small chitons crawling around.'

d) mu-l mi-céedu-n qamá-ad-u ^
VG-O say-SS.S/A play-DUR-ABS
'(he) said while playing. '

e) mu-l pʰala men cʰuway? ba?t'a-n˜ . q'o?di t'ác'qa-w˜ mihyácʰmu?-ti ˜
VG-O also thus laugh sound-SS.S/A good feel-ABS win-INT
'Like before (they) were laughing and feeling good, intending to beat [the opponents]. '

f) men-s'ii-li ?ul ˜ hco-?^ mu pʰala ˜
thus-do-DS.ANT then guess-ABS VG.S also
'Then they guessed (him) too.'

9. Verse: Metanarrative Interlude to describe game

a) ma?u =?ém mu ma?a-l to díic'i?-ti ʃu?umqam ˜
thisS=DEF.S VG.S 3pl-O 1sg.O take-INT
'Someone holds the bones, '

b) ?ihyaa =?ém mu bi-?di-m-?˜ ku k'íli ?-in ku qahle ^
bone=DEF.S VG.S by.encircling-hold-Over-ABS one black be-SS.S/A one white
'one black and one white, [hidden one in each hand]. '

c) mu-l hóotoo dima-w =el mu-l ˜ coqóod-e-m =ém mu ˜ qahlé hco-? ^
VG-O front hold-ABS =DEF.O VG-O guess-Nom-S=DEF.S VgS white guess-ABS
'[The opponent tries to] guess which one is held out in front. '

d) mens'in=em mu ˜ ?ahaa naaqʰo =?ém mu hqama-? =lii ˜
and=DEF.S VG.S stick twelve=DEF.S VG.S gamble-ABS =with
'There are twelve sticks to gamble with [to keep score].'

10. Verse: Chipmunk plays

a) ma?u ?úl bet' ba?s'im?s'i qama-ala-w ˜
this.S then next chipmunk play-INCH-ABS
'The chipmunk started to play next.'

b) ma?ú ?dom mu=?cay ? =yaco?-kʰe t'o q'o?o ˜
thisS QUOT VG.S=person=AGNOM-OBL CTR song
'This is the song of that one:'

c) baalooloo wacʰmelaa [ba?loba?lo-n waadela]
chatter-FRQ-SS.S/A around
?ama kule s'iita [?ama kule s'ihta]
thing mischevious creature
'I am chattering around
Mischievous little creature.'

d) nihc-ed-un qamá-ad-u˜
say-DUR-SS.S/A play-DUR-ABS
'(he) said while playing. '

e) kumí?da? mu t'o cʰuwáy? ba?t'a-n bic'ulma-w ˜ mihyac'-kʰe t'awíc'qac'-in ˜

always VG.S CTR laugh sound-SS.S/A yell-ABS win.pl-FUT think.pl-SS.S/A
'They were laughing and yelling continuously, thinking that they were going to win. '

f) mu-l-ldom mu-l pʰalá ʔul co-ʔ -
VG-O-QUOT VG-O also then guess-ABS
'(They) guessed him too.'

11. Verse: Small Chiton plays

a) maʔú ʔdom bet' ʔul - qat̰'ee=yáʔ qama-ala-w -
thisS QUOT next then small.chiton=AG.S play-INCH-ABS
'Next it was the small chiton's turn to start to gamble.'

b) muʔnatí =ʔem ʔa mu=ʔcay ʔ=yacoʔ-kʰe q'oʔo t̰'o dúuciʔ =tʰin ^
however=DEF.S 1sg.S VG.S=person=AGNOM-OBL song CTR know =NEG
'However I don't know his song. '

c) muʔnati mu pʰala q'oʔo q'oʔdi =ʔem -
however VG.S also song good=DEF.S
'But it was a good song too. '

d) men qamá-ad-u cahno-n qamá-ad-u -
thus play-DUR-ABS sing-SS.S/A play-DUR-ABS
'(He) played - while singing he played. '

e) maʔu ʔul muukito pʰala hcoʔ ^
thisS then 3sg.O also guess-ABS
'Then (they) guessed him too.'

12. Verse: Skunk plays

a) men-s'ü-li bet' nupʰee =yáʔ qama-ala-w -
thus-do-DS.ANT next skunk =AG.S play-INCH-ABS
'The skunk started to play next. '

b) maʔú ʔdom mu=ʔcay ʔ=yacoʔ-kʰe t̰'o q'oʔo -
thisS QUOT VG.S=person=AGNOM-OBL CTR song
'This is his song:'

c) nupʰee coololwa coololwa coololwa
[nupʰee coʔlo-ʔlo-waad-u coʔlo?lowaadu coʔlo?lowaadu]
skunk tail.up-ITR-DUR-ABS
'Skunk goes around with his tail in the air'

d) nihc-ed-un qama-ad-u -
say-DUR-SS-S/A play-DUR-ABS
'(he) said while playing. '

e) men-s'i-wem mu t̰'o q'oʔdi t'ac'qa-n bic'ulmá-n cʰuwayʔ baʔt'a-w -
thus-do-DS.S/A VG.S CTR good feel-SS.S/A yell-SS.S/A laugh sound-ABS

miyáak'a?=ya? ^
his.friends =AGNOM
'While he was singing, they were feeling good--his friends--shouting and laughing.'

f) mu-l-idom men p^hala p^hi?t'an hco-? ^
VG-O-QUOT thus again before guess-ABS
But, as before, they guessed him.

13. Verse: Sea Anemone plays

a) ma?ú ?dom ?ul bet' ˜ sihmú =ya? qama-ala-w ^
thisS QUOT then next sea.anemone=AG.S play-INCH-ABS
'Now the sea anemone started to play.'

b) mu ?dóm mu t'o ?imaata˜ muliyowam mu duwi díc-iid-u=ya? ^
VG.S QUOT VG.S CTR woman PRSEXP VG.S coyote tell-DUR-ABS-AGNOM.S

micé-ed-uceed-u mu-l ?imaata níhc-ed-uuced-u ˜
say-DUR-DFN-ABS VG-O woman say-DUR-DFN-ABS
'The one who used to tell this story, used to say that that one was a woman.'

c) ma?u ?úl man? p^hala hqama-ad-u ˜
thisS then 3sg.F.S again play-DUR-ABS
'She also played.'

d) men q'o?o c'iʃkan ?q'o =?em mu mu?nati to du?yaaqá?-t^h-e-m ^
thus song pretty song=DEF.S VG.S however 1sg.S remember-NEG-NOM-S
'She had a pretty song but I don't remember it.'

e) ma?u qama-ad-u men˜ mu-l maadá-l p^hala hco-? ^
this.S play-DUR-ABS thus VG-O 3sg.F-O also guess-ABS
She played as the others had and they guessed her too.

14. Verse: Bear plays

a) ma?u ?úl but.aqá =?em=?cay? =ya? qama-ala-?k^he
this.S then bear=DEF.S=person=AG.S play-INCH-FUT
'Now the bear is going to start to play.'

b) mu but.aqá =?em mu ?dom mu ?ahqa ʃáa ʃi-yiic'-ed-u ^
VG.S bear=DEF.S VG.S QUOT VG.S game expert do-INC-DUR-ABS
'That bear had been claiming that he was an expert gambler.'

c) ma?u ?úl qama-ala-w˜ ?ul c^huwáy? ba?t'a-n q'o?di t'ác'qaa mihyáa-ti ˜
this.S then play-INCH-ABS then laugh sound-SS.S/A good feel win-INT
'Now (he) started to play while (they) were laughing and shouting, expecting to win'

d) bahk^{h}oo yoo c^halac^{h}ala tihham? [bahk^{h}o yoo c^hala-c^halaa tihham?]

manzanita under swoosh-swoosh grunt
'Under a manzanita, swoosh, swoosh, grunt.'

e) nibc-ed-un qamá-ad-u."
say-DUR-SS-S/A play-DUR-ABS
'(he) was saying while playing.'

e) mu-l $p^hit'an$ p^hala hco-ʔ ^
VG-O unexpectedly again guess-ABS
'(They,) unexpectedly, guessed him too.'

15. Verse: Mussel plays

a) maʔu ʔúl bet' noʔq'o=yaʔ qama-ala-ʔk^he" mihyác'-k^he=yaʔ ^
this.S then next mussel=AG play-INCH-FUT win-FUT=AGNOM.S
'The next to play is the mussel - the one that is going to win.'

b) muʔnati ʔée to muʔcayʔ-yacoʔ-k^he q'oʔo duʔyaqá-ad-u =t^hin"
however be.NFV 1sg.O VG.S=person=AGNOM-OBL song remember-DUR-ABS =NEG
'But I have forgotten the song of that one.'

c) maʔu ʔul men qama-ad-u" men qama-ad-u cahno-n qama-ad-u"
thisS then thus play-DUR-ABS thus play-DUR-ABS sing-SS.S/A play-DUR-ABS
'(He) played and played, singing while playing.'

d) p^hiʔt'an t'ii ʔanáa bat¸hee ʔahaa biʔdi-ʔ ^
unexpectedly everyone very most stick pick.up-ABS
'Unexpectedly, (he) got more sticks than anyone.'

e) men-s'ii-li hco-ʔ^ muʔnati ʔul mu t¸'o ʔahaa bat¸^{h}ee bíʔdi-ʔ ^
thus-do-DS.ANT guess-ABS however then VG.S CTR stick most pick.up-ABS
'Then they guessed him, but he already had most of the sticks.'

16. Ending

a) mu =ʔem mé-ʔ-p^hi ^
VG.S =DEF.S time-be-SS.F/C
'That is all.'

APPENDIX 2

Abbreviations

1	1st person
2	2nd person
3	3rd person
ABS	Absolutive
AG	Agentive
AGNOM	Agentive Nominalizer

CAUS	Causative
CIR	Circumstantial Evidential
COND	Conditional
CTR	Contrast
DEF	Definite
DFN	Defunctive
DST	Distributive
DS.ANT	Different subject Anterior:,Past, Present "After"
DS.S/A	Different subject Simultaneous/Alternating "While/When"
DUR	Durative
F	Feminine
FRQ	Frequentative (Stem reduplication)
FUT	Future
HAB	Habitual
INC	Inceptive
INCH	Inchoative
INF	Inferential
INT	General Intentive/Near Future
INTR	Interjection
INTS	Intensifier
ITR	Iterative (Root reduplication)
M	Masculine
NEG	Negation
NOM	Nominalizer
NV	Not visible
NFV	Non-final verb
O	Objective case
OBL	Oblique
pl	Plural
PRFINT	Performative Intentive
PRSEXP	Personal Experience Evidential
Q	Question: Interrogative Particle
QUOT	Quotative Evidential "it is said"
RCP	Reciprocal
RFL	Reflexive
RSP	Responsive
S	Subjective case
SEM	Semelfactive
sg	Singular
SS.ANT	Same subject Anterior: "After"
SS.CE	Same subject Counter-Expectation "Although"
SS.F/C	Same subject Future-Conditional "When/If"
SS.S/A	Same subject Simultaneous/Alternating "While/When"
V	Visible
VB	Verbalizer
VG	Vague pronominal reference: that, these, those, it, he, they
VIS	Visual Evidential

Phonemes

This is the Kashaya phonemic inventory given by Oswalt (1964:viii). Although Buckley (1992) describes a somewhat different inventory (he adds glottalized

sonorants motivated by a reanalysis of phonological processes), I use Oswalt's original inventory since it corresponds to the transcriptions in Kashaya Texts.

Consonants

	Labial	Postdental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Postvelar	Laryngeal
Plain stops	p	t	t̪	c	k	q	ʔ
Asp stops	p^h	t^h	$t̪^h$	c^h	k^h	q^h	
Glot stops	p'	t'	t̪'	c'	k'	q'	
Vcd stops	b		d̪				
Nasals	m		n				
Semivowels	w			y			
Laterals			l, (r)				
Spirants	(f)		s	ʃ			h
Glot Affricates			s'				

<r> and .<f>. occur only in loans from European languages

Vowels

	Front Unrounded	Central	Back Rounded
High	i		u
Mid	e		o
Low		a	

All vowels are contrastive for length, transcribed as consecutive identical vowels.

Prosodic phonemes

/ˊ/	Raised tone	
/" "/	Heightened contrast	
/^/	Falling intonation	characteristic of declarative sentence endings
/ˇ/	Rising intonation	characteristic of interrogative or responsive utterance endings
/-/	Level intonation	characteristic of a pause or hesitation